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## SOCIALIST LEADERS TURN TO DEMOCRATS

Friendly Feeling Grows Out of Hearst Platform Adopted at Syracuse.

MAY AFFECT ELECTION

240,000 Marxian Votes Concerned in Furthering Radical Policies.

DON'T CARE FOR SMITH

Democrats of Old School, However, Are Shocked at Rledges of Party.

By LOUIS SEIBOLD.

Somewhere in the neighborhood of 240,000 Socialist votes are providing the leaders of the Republican and Democratic parties with food for thought and speculation. The probable distribution of these votes in the pending apparently close contest between the regular parties is likely to exercise a tremendous influence in determining the November decision.

The New York brand of Socialists are ordinarily clamorous and have little use for the candidates proposed by the Republican and Democratic parties. The Socialist managers operate on the theory that sooner or later citizens who vote for Republican or Democratic candidates from sheer force of unthinking habit will some day see the light and turn to the doctrines of Karl Marx for correctives of conditions held to be due to arbitrary political causes. Sometimes the Socialists poll in New York 75,000 votes; at others in excess of 250,000.

Two years ago Debs, then in Atlanta Prison for violation of the national espionage laws, rolled up 230,000 votes in the industrial centers of the Empire State for President. The Socialist-Labor and Farmer-Labor candidates added around 25,000 to the Debs total.

Like Syracuse Platform. Republican and Democratic leaders concede to the Socialist element a

maximum of 250,000 votes. Their estimates of the probable strength of it in the present campaign for State officers, United States Senator and forty-three members of Congress are not so liberal. The reason is that for the first time in many years the Socialist leaders reflect a more friendly attitude to the Democratic ticket, headed by "Al" Smith, the idol of Tammany, than has been the rule.

The Socialists do not particularly admire Smith. They regard him almost as "reactionary" as Gov. Miller, his Republican opponent, though the latter is anything but a standpatter, and has asserted his independence of reactionary influence on many an occasion. However, the Socialists regard Mr. Miller as a reactionary pure and simple. They support their contention with references to the platform adopted by the Republican State convention which renominated the Governor.

Their present friendly attitude toward the Democratic candidate is due to two causes. The most important is that the Socialists regard the platform adopted by the Democratic convention which nominated "Al" Smith as a long step toward the accomplishment of radical ideals.

Smith himself is not held to be so important as the declarations of the party under the spur of the Hearst influence. The Socialist leaders do not hesitate to award Hearst the credit for compelling the Democratic party, which would not have him for a candidate, to write a platform which suits the Socialist element much better than it pleases the conservative element in the Democratic party.

The Democratic platform provides substantial justification for the Socialist claim. There is little question that if Hearst had been nominated to run on it he would have carried 75 per cent. of the Socialist vote for the Democratic party. How much Smith will be able to command is a matter of speculation. He will certainly get a great many more Socialist votes than are usually cast for Democratic candidates nominated by Tammany Hall unless he takes issue with the declaration of his party, which is not probable. The fight between the two major parties for supremacy in the State is likely to be so close that the candidates of both will follow the line of least resistance and offend as few voters as possible.

The Republican platform is the antithesis of Socialistic dogma, though it is far less reactionary in temper and scope than the old time declarations of the party which renominated Mr. Miller and Senator Calder.

Planks Shock Oldtimers.

The Democratic platform has really shocked some of the old time conservative leaders of that party by its advocacy of doctrines which are radical enough to make appeal to the Socialist leaders. It stops just short of pledging the support of the Democratic party to the nationalization of natural power resources and the ownership and control of utilities.

At times it comes pretty near supporting the scheme favored by the Socialists of taking over the public service utilities by cities and towns. For instance, it advocates the estab-

lishment of bus lines for local transit purposes by cities and towns without regard for franchises conferred by Federal and State laws. Again it opposes the appointment of Federal receivers for local public utilities. Other unorthodox features that figured in the Roosevelt and Bryan programs are pronounced by Socialists to be liberal enough to suit them.

Another feature of the Democratic ticket which pleases the Socialists is the character of one or two of the nominees. Mr. Lunn, the nominee for Lieutenant-Governor, openly asserts sympathy for Socialist doctrines. He was elected for one term in Congress by a combination of Democratic and Socialist votes. He was elected as Mayor of Schenectady as a straight Socialist candidate. Schenectady is of the Socialist strongholds of the State. It is the headquarters of the General Electric Company, which employs more than 15,000 hands, a substantial percentage of whom support Socialist candidates and doctrines in political contests.

Mr. Lunn is very popular with the radical element in the manufacturing districts of Brooklyn and among the Russians and Jewish Socialists on the East Side of Manhattan. He is certain to receive a great many votes of this character.

Dr. Copeland, the Democratic candidate for Senator, to oppose Mr. Calder who is a pronounced Republican standpatter, has also displayed friendship for features of the Socialist program. He will also be favored by the same class of voters.

Vote May Be Important.

Inasmuch as Mr. Miller and Mr. Smith, the regular party candidates, are appraised as being closely matched, it may fall out that the Socialist vote will play a very important part in determining the contest between them. The normal Republican majority outside of New York city is around 200,000. Smith, the Democratic opponent of two years ago, as now, carried the five boroughs of the city with a plurality of 317,000.

Neither Mr. Miller nor Mr. Smith polled any Socialist votes, as was clearly established by the extraordinary support given Debs. If the Democratic platform plus the two sympathetic Socialist candidates, continues to appeal to the Socialist element Mr. Smith and his associates on the Democratic ticket may receive help from an unexpected quarter. The Socialists, of course, have nominated candidates for the State and a few Congressional offices, but the leaders of the party are at present manifesting much more interest in the Democratic candidates than in their own.

The most friendless political unit in the State is the Prohibitionist. Figuratively, it is all dressed up with no place to go. The Democratic candidates and platform are not only moist but wet. Gov. Miller, while declaring that he will enforce the law with the full power of the State machinery, has notified the Prohibition managers that he does not want their support because he is not in sympathy with their purposes. Just what the orthodox Prohibitionists will do in this situation remains to be seen; most of them will probably go fishing.

## MILLER SAYS HYLAN KILLED FARE BOOST UNDER SMITH

Continued from First Page.

cause in that case unless the entire power of the State to regulate their State public utilities is to be stricken down, the power of the Federal courts to intervene by injunction in that fashion must be stopped by act of Congress."

Aims for Five Cent Fare.

Gov. Miller took up that part of the Democratic platform which charged that he had "created a corporation controlled Transit Commission that aims to seize the municipal railways constructed by the city of New York at a cost of \$300,000,000 in order to compel the people to pay increased fares."

"I am sure the people of this city know by this time what the Transit Commission aims to do," said the Governor. "I will tell you in just a word: 'Aims to seize the municipally constructed and owned subways—why, the city owns them now.'"

"What they aim to do is, starting with them as a backbone, to acquire for the city, without the investment of a single dollar of city money without using a single dollar of the city's borrowing power, to acquire and to buy up, with this municipally owned system as the backbone, all of the public utilities which are worth while to be acquired; a unified system of operation under which people shall be carried through-out this city for one fare, and that a five cent fare."

"But this is what they aim to do. But this is what the Democratic party says that it is in favor of doing. It says, 'We favor the delegation to the municipality of the power to regulate the public utilities operating wholly within their limits.' That is what they say they are in favor of. Let us test their promise by their record of performance."

"When Mr. Smith was Governor the Legislature, it is true, was Republican, but it allowed him to write the law that he wanted to govern public utilities for the city of New York. What did he do? He provided that instead of having one State Commission to exercise these regulatory powers there should be two State Commissions to do it. He took the Public Service Commission and split it up into two commissions—one single headed commission—the Rapid Transit Construction Commission, making Mr. Delaney the head of that, and the Public Service Commission, having to do with rates, making Mr. Nixon the head of that. Have I a right to challenge the sincerity of a party whose record is thus presented when it now says that it is in favor of delegating that State power to the municipality? Why did not Gov. Smith recommend that then when he was Governor? This proposition is put in here only to deceive. They are now looking for votes."

"They say here in their platform that if the Legislature does what they propose, namely delegate this power to the cities and repeal the Miller transit law then we will have a five cent fare. What did they try to give the people of this city, not with delegated power to the municipality, but with a State agency created by Gov. Smith himself? They tried to increase the fares. In a report to the Legislature, Commissioner Nixon said that that was the only solution of the problem. Now I have not always agreed with the Mayor, but to be entirely fair I am going to say this—that I have not any doubt if it had not been for the opposition of the Mayor that Gov.

Smith's Public Service Commissioner Nixon would have increased the fares, because that is what he proposed to do. Commissioner Nixon was wrong in proposing to increase the fares, because that was not the remedy. It was not a fare question. It was a question of service."

When Hylan Was Right.

"Now the Mayor was right in preventing it, but he also in my judgment was wrong in thinking that the question was solely one of fare, for while he was hugging the delusion of a five cent fare and deluding the people of this city into the belief that he was preserving a five cent fare that service was being disintegrated, was deteriorating and you were losing the five cent fare. It was five cents only with respect to the number of times that the companies collected five cents. By treating it as a fare question, by hugging that delusion, he contributed just as Gov. Smith's commissioners contributed to the continued deterioration of the transit facilities of this city."

"When I took office what was the condition? You know and it does not have to be described. It had reached a condition that it was practically unbearable and indecent. While this argument about fares had been going on for four years no constructive effort had been made to solve the problem, and it seemed to me that it was high time that somebody should think not of a political issue but of trying to render a service to the people themselves."

"Now, they say I was tactless about it, and I guess I was from the uproar I made. They said that the people were not ready for the sudden proposal that I made and that we should have talked about it longer. We have been talking for years, and if we had talked for another year, another year would have been lost. I realized, of course, that I was entering upon dangerous ground. I knew the feeling in this city. I knew how by demagogic appeals that feeling had been made still worse. I knew it would have been possible to say, as it was said, that it was an eight cent fare proposal; I knew they would charge violation of home rule. I thought that there was one plan, and one plan only, that could possibly solve this problem, namely, to put the power of the State not any city power, on this home rule talk, not any power that ever has been exercised by the city, but State power only, in the hands of one single tribunal, and then to command that tribunal to work out a solution of this problem. And it seemed to me so obvious that that was what ought to be done that I did not think it was necessary to take a year in talking about it."

"And so we created the Transit Commission, endowing it only with State power—mark that—not one single power ever exercised by the municipality. We did to an extent curb the power of the city administration to obstruct; that is all."

"They had not been in office two months before, having investigated the subject, they said that there should be no increases of fare. No increases of fare."

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